

Contents

<i>Series preface</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>List of maps</i>	xix
<i>Abbreviations and notational conventions</i>	xxi
<i>Abbreviations used for Latin authors and their works</i>	xxiii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 The many facets of ‘gender’	1
1.2 The method and the basic facts	5
1.3 Synchrony and diachrony of Romance gender systems: the basic issues	12
1.4 Outline of the book	14
2 The starting point: Gender in Latin	16
2.1 The three genders of Latin	16
2.2 The Latin neuter and its functions	22
2.2.1 Resumption/pronominalization of non-canonical controllers	22
2.2.2 Gender resolution	24
2.3 Gender values and gender assignment from (Proto-)Indo-European to Latin	26
2.4 Latin/Romance gender in typological perspective	30
3 Grammatical gender in Romance: The mainstream	33
3.1 Binary gender systems	33
3.1.1 The majority type: parallel binary gender systems	34
3.1.2 Binary convergent systems	40
3.1.3 From parallel to convergent and back to a parallel gender system	46
3.2 Gender assignment rules	52
3.2.1 Semantic rules	52
3.2.2 Formal rules	56
4 Romance gender systems: The fuller picture	62
4.1 The data from Romance morphosyntactic variation across time and space	62
4.2 ‘Remnants of the neuter’: a loose label	63
4.2.1 Pronoun and adjective inflection	64
4.2.2 Noun inflection	65
4.2.3 Lexicalization	67
4.3 A closer look at two-gender systems	70
4.3.1 Sardinian	70
4.3.2 Gender-overdifferentiated agreement targets in Romansh	71

4.3.3	Neuter agreement targets and default in Romansh	76
4.3.4	Neuter pronouns and default across Romance	79
4.3.5	Alternating gender agreement in modern Standard Italian	81
4.3.6	The fading of the alternating gender in Northern Italo-Romance	87
4.4	Three-gender systems	92
4.4.1	Three controller genders in Romanian	92
4.4.1.1	Two or three genders?	92
4.4.1.2	Gender agreement targets in Romanian	93
4.4.1.3	(Overt) gender and noun inflectional classes	94
4.4.1.4	'Gender' and 'class' in a two-gender analysis of Romanian	100
4.4.1.5	The evidence from gender resolution (and then morphology, again)	104
4.4.1.6	Conclusion: the productivity of the Romanian neuter	109
4.4.2	Further systems with three controller genders	110
4.4.3	Three target genders in present-day Romance	113
4.5	Four-gender systems	116
4.5.1	Campania, Northern Puglia, North-Eastern Lucania, Abruzzo	119
4.5.2	Central Italy (Lazio, Umbria, Marche)	132
4.5.3	The feminine husbands of Agnonese, or the conventionalization of the alternating neuter	140
4.5.4	Mass/countness in the gender system: central-southern Italo-Romance	145
4.6	Concluding remarks: the variety of Romance gender systems	155
5	Mass/countness and gender in Asturian	160
5.1	Central Asturian: the basic facts	160
5.2	The Asturian neuter: analyses so far	163
5.3	The problem with the Asturian neuter	164
5.4	A novel proposal: the 'second gender' feature of Asturian	172
5.4.1	Asturian in a typological perspective	173
5.4.2	Gender assignment in a language with concurrent systems	180
5.4.3	Simple syntactic rules for gender/number agreement in Asturian	183
5.5	On the way to and past the Central Asturian system	192
5.6	Concluding remarks	194
6	The older stages of the Romance languages	195
6.1	Old Romanian	195
6.2	Old Italian	197
6.3	Medieval Western Romance	203
6.3.1	Old Gallo-Romance	203
6.3.2	Old Northern Italo-Romance	208
6.4	Old Romansh	210
6.5	Older stages of Central-Southern Italo-Romance	212

6.6 Concluding remarks: complementing dialect comparison with the medieval evidence	218
7 Gender from Latin to Romance: A reconstruction	219
7.1 Grammatical gender in transition: <i>a</i> -plural agreement and the masculine vs neuter contrast	220
7.2 The rise of the <i>genus alternans</i>	225
7.3 The gradual depletion of the Latin neuter	230
7.4 Rise and fall of the early Romance four-gender system	236
7.4.1 The rise of the four-gender system	239
7.4.2 Marking the N vs M contrast: geolinguistic evidence for reconstruction	241
7.4.3 The fading of the four-gender system	245
7.4.3.1 The fading of the alternating neuter	245
7.4.3.2 The fading of the mass neuter	247
7.4.4 Neurolinguistic evidence for impending change in the gender system	253
7.5 Continuity vs discontinuity in the Latin-Romance neuter(s): Asturian again	256
7.6 The desemanticization of grammatical gender	264
7.7 The (re)semanticization of grammatical gender	265
7.8 The rise of new gender values: or, masculine wives and sisters in southern Italy	269
7.9 Romance dialects with five gender values?	277
7.10 Concluding remarks: the diachrony of Latin-Romance gender	282
8 The typological interest of lesser-known Romance gender systems	284
8.1 Romance four-gender systems from a typological perspective	284
8.2 Strictly semantic gender values and semantic subgenders in Romance	288
8.3 Contact-induced change in the gender system	291
8.3.1 Contact-induced change in Daco-Romance	292
8.3.2 Contact-induced change in Northern Sardinian	295
8.3.3 Romance gender and its impact on contact languages	300
8.4 Unusual conditions on gender/number agreement	302
8.5 Gender agreement on unusual targets	308
8.6 Syntactically-dependent overt gender marking	311
8.7 Concurrent gender systems in Romance	313
8.8 Concluding remarks: enriching the WALS with Romance data	314
<i>Bibliography</i>	317
<i>Index of languages</i>	365
<i>Index of names</i>	372
<i>Index of subjects</i>	381